UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes **Francis Neilson**

A Peace Program for America

The Outlawry of War and the World Court

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

Concerning Roses

By ZONA GALE

Liberia's Year

By FREDERICK STARR

VOLUME XCV NUMBER 20

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JOHN HAYNES HOLMES : *Editors* : FRANCIS NEILSON

UNITY Fellowship

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCV MONDAY, JULY 27, 1925 NUMBER 20

A Peace Program for America

The Outlawry of War and the World Court

The most important forward step for peace that has been taken in this country since the close of the Great War, perhaps the most important forward step ever taken in the history of peace movements in the United States, was announced in the public prints on July 15th, five days after this editorial was written, and five days before it will be published and distributed to our readers. This step is thus important, first, because it ends, or promises to end, the long scandal of schism among the peace advocates of the nation; and, secondly, because it marks the formulation of a program of statesmanship of the first order of constructive achievement. What we have at last is a platform upon which all workers for peace can stand, without compromise or apology, and which, if adopted by the American government, should win at last the long-desired goal of a durable peace among the nations of the earth.

I

We assume that our readers have studied the program, together with the accompanying interpretative statements, as published in the newspapers of July 15th. Behind it is a story of intense, even dramatic, interest which had its beginning in the growing uneasiness and disgust of large numbers of pacifists over the division in sentiment and opinion between the peace forces of the country. Unlike the militarists, who always know how to mobilize, the peace advocates have long been separated into different camps. As in the case of the churches, those who should be working together have been working at cross-purposes, or even in active hostility to one another. This schism had its origin, of course, in the long and bitter fight over the proposed ratification of the Covenant of the League of Nations. Many, perhaps a majority, of sincere peace workers were in favor of ratification—and are still in favor of ratification, as see the impressive League of Nations Non-Partisan Association. Other equally sincere peace workers, of more radical tendencies, were opposed to ratification—and are opposed today. "Unity" has from the beginning included itself within this latter group, and stands there unshaken at the present moment.

In recent years the League of Nations issue has dropped into the back-ground in favor of the Permanent Court of International Justice. Here again is the scandal of division! The League of Nations advocates, joined by many others opposed to the League in itself, are urging the entrance of the United States into the Court either without conditions, or on the basis of the Harding-Hughes-Coolidge reservations. This represents a formidable movement, since it is freed of all the unfortunate partisan political motives in which the League of Nations issue is entangled, and is vitalized by profound moral and spiritual conviction. On the other hand, however, are those opposed to the entrance of this country into the World Court. This opposition has little of the fire and fury of opposition to the League, since opponents of the Court think it a matter of no great concern whether the United States enters that judicial body or not. This latest Hague Court is only a reduplication, on slightly improved lines, of the Hague courts which have preceded it, and thus, while representing a sound principle, offers no real solution of the problem of war. "Unity" is opposed to our going into the Court, not because it will do any harm, but simply and solely because it will not do any good. We are unwilling to have this government waste energy and faith in an institution which is bound to fail at the moment of crisis. We feel that the hour is at hand when only thorough-going measures can avail anything in this fight against the war-god. The Court, as it stands today, is not thorough-going, not really a court, and is therefore useless. It is as weak as the League of Nations is evil!

It is the demand of the Anti-World Court forces for a thorough-going program of international reform which has led them to swing with such enthusiasm to the support of the Levinson program for the Outlawry of War, which we like to recall was first announced to the world in these columns. This program of Outlawry came along at just the time when the lines were being drawn for the fight over the World Court, and, in the form of the Borah Resolution in the Senate, fell into the position of an alternative proposal to the Court. More and more, as time has gone on, the division in the peace forces of the country has crystallized into concrete antagonism between those in favor of the World Court and those in favor of Outlawry. Why the one was necessarily exclusive of the other was difficult to say. It was probably the ghost of the old League of Nations issue which was working mischief, rather than anything tangible involved in either Court or Outlawry. But the antagonism

was there, and in recent months, as witness Senator Borah's speeches at Boston and Ann Arbor and the replies thereto, was getting bitter.

II

It was this situation, well calculated to make Mars laugh as the spectacle of a divided church makes Satan laugh, which persuaded a committee of three devoted men—Sherwood Eddy, Kirby Page, and Raymond Robins—to send out a call to a selected group of men and women, known to have convictions on one side or the other of existing controversies, and yet not regarded as irreconcilable or fanatical, for a conference to the end of unity.

This conference assembled at the McAlpin Hotel, New York City, on the morning of Wednesday, June 3, and held sessions throughout one of the hottest days of the summer. In addition to the signers of the call, there were present such men as Judge John H. Clarke, Chairman of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, and Dr. William P. Merrill, of the Brick Church, New York, representing the World Court point of view. The Outlawry of War was sponsored by Charles Clayton Morrison, Editor of the *Christian Century,* and by the Editor of "Unity". (Mr. Levinson joined the group at later meetings). Some of the others present were Professor James T. Shotwell, Director of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and co-author of last year's American plan at Geneva, F. Ernest Johnson, of the Federal Council of Churches, Nevin Sayre, of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Wilbur Thomas, distinguished Quaker, Fred B. Smith, Norman Thomas, Mary Dreier, and Bruce Bliven. It was an inclusive assembly representing many interests and all points of view.

From the outset, discussion turned to the question of the World Court vs Outlawry. It seemed to be agreed that division centered on this issue, and that if the advocates of these two contending ideals could be brought together on a common ground of thought and action, division would be healed, and the unity of the peace forces of the country therewith achieved. Comparatively early a platform of adjustment came in sight. The Outlawry program included an international court! Why not the existing Permanent Court of International Justice? This Court was conceded, even by its staunchest advocates, to be in need of improvement! Why not strengthen its structure, enlarge its functions, make it at last a true court, after the pattern of the Outlawry proposals? Both parties were seeking specific and not irreconcilable ends. Why not seek and attain them together in a single campaign toward a single goal?

The result of deliberations, continued in a special committee, headed by Judge Clarke and Mr. Levinson, and in a second all-day meeting of the full body, was the remarkable program already announced in the public statement of July 15th. We present it here for the sake of the record, and for the careful study of our readers in all parts of the world:

The undersigned persons, representing various points of view as to the means of securing international peace, agree to the following principles in the attached program for the outlawry of the institution of war in the adherence of the United States to the World Court Protocol and agree to devote their best efforts to its realization and to the further study of adequate and appropriate mechanism for its effective application.

It is understood that each person signing this program commits only himself personally to its approval and that he is not limiting in any degree or manner his freedom to advocate methods or agencies for promoting world peace other than or additional to the Permanent Court of International Justice. However, we recognize that the question of adherence of the United States to the Protocol of the World Court constitutes the chief immediate issue before this country, and that it is of paramount importance to bring about the cooperation of the United States with the rest of the world in effective measures to end war.

As a measure directed toward the abolition of war and in order to make the Permanent Court of International Justice a more effective judicial substitute for war in the settlement of international disputes, this conference favors the program embodied in the three following proposals:

1. The immediate adherence of the United States to the Court Protocol, with the Harding-Hughes-Coolidge reservations;

2. Within two years after the adherence by the United States to the Court Protocol, the signatories thereto, including the United States Government, shall formally declare by appropriate governmental action their endorsement of the following basic principles of the outlawry of war and shall call an international conference of all civilized nations for the purpose of making a general treaty embodying these principles;

a. War between nations shall be outlawed as an institution for the settlement of international controversies by making it a crime under the law of nations. (The question of self-defense against attack or invasion is not involved or affected.)

b. A code of the international law of peace, based upon the outlawing of war and upon equality and justice between all nations, great and small, shall be formulated and adopted.

c. When war is outlawed, the Permanent Court of International Justice shall be granted affirmative jurisdiction over international controversies between sovereign nations as provided for and defined in the code and arising under treaties;

3. Should such signatories within two years after the adherence of the United States fail to make such declaration and to join in a conference for the purpose of making such general treaty, the United States may in its discretion withdraw its adherence to said Court Protocol; and further should such signatories fail, within five years after the adherence of the United States to said Court Protocol, to make and execute a general treaty embodying in substance the aforesaid principles, the adherence of the United States shall thereupon terminate; but any action of the Court taken in the interim shall remain in full force and effect.

Signed:

John H. Clarke, former justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, now President of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association.

Professor James T. Shotwell, Director Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Co-author of the American Plan for Security and Disarmament submitted to the League Assembly at Geneva last September.

Raymond Robins, Lecturer.

Charles Clayton Morrison, Editor, *Christian Century.*
S. O. Levinson, Chairman of the American Committee for the Out-lawry of War.
Miss Mary Dreier, Executive Board, National Women's Trade Union League.
Julian W. Mack, Judge United States Circuit Court.
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Fred B. Smith, Federal Council of Churches.
Norman Thomas, Director, League for Industrial Democracy.
Wilbur Thomas, American Friends Service Committee.

III

This program which is directed to the outlawry of war through the existing World Court, as made at last a *real* court by the outlawry provisions, speaks for itself, and therefore needs no interpretation. It should speak with especial clearness and emphasis to the readers of this journal, since it represents the fulfilment of what we have been seeking during a period of more than two years.

Thus, on Thursday, October 4, 1923, we published in these columns a special editorial entitled, "Our Program for Peace". We stated our opposition to the League of Nations, and the reasons therefor. We declared our conviction that "our refusal to join the League has inevitably placed upon us (the United States) an awful responsibility to present something better in place of what we find not good enough, or altogether evil." We then offered as basis for constructive action by the United States the Levinson-Borah program for the Outlawry of War, and sought, with our utmost endeavor, ways and means of reconciling this program with the League of Nations and World Court proposals, to which, in themselves and as they stood, we were opposed. "From each side of the controversy", we said, "has come the thought that the other side has something greatly needed to the fulfilment of the cause of peace. The Outlawry advocates need a court; why not take the existing League Court and make it over on new and better lines of organization? The League advocates desperately need the outlawry idea, for how can war ever be abolished so long as it is recognized and protected by international law? . . . The world is in a desperate situation. All that we have seems to be tumbling to pieces about our ears. Is it not time to get together, make a fresh survey of our plans, and work out a program of peace upon which all lovers of peace can stand, to the utter confounding at last of militarism?"

It was on the basis of this analysis and appeal that we formulated what we called "Unity's" Program for Peace", which was in summary as follows—(1) the outlawry of war as an institution, on terms of agreement among the nations that war is a crime; (2) the recodification of international law based on the outlawry of war; (3) the establishment of a World Court exercising . . . original and affirmative jurisdiction; (4) the establishment of an international legislative body, to meet at regular intervals for discussion, investigation, resolution, and the periodical recodification of the new international code of law.

It is easy to see, from this reminder of our program as laid down two years ago, why we hail this new program as one which we can wholeheartedly support. The two are in substance identical. The only differences are, first, the suggestion that the United States enter the existing World Court immediately, on the conditions named; and, secondly, the avoidance of any mention of an international legislative body, either the existing League or some other. As regards the former point, we have always been in favor of using the existing World Court as the basis of the Outlawry Court. As regards the latter, we are convinced that the adoption of this new program by the United States means ultimately, and perhaps not very remotely, our entrance into the League of Nations as an international legislative body, on the same conditions of Outlawry as those named above for our entrance into the World Court. The program for the Outlawry of War, in other words, is *the magic measure which makes at once both safe and effective the two existing institutions in the international field,* the Court and the League. Mr. Levinson has rightly contended from the beginning that *Outlawry is the one straight, sure road to peace!*

IV

The Editor of "Unity", in happy association with the signatories of the above statement, pledges herewith his full support to the program of peace therein laid down. From this moment on we propose to labor "for the outlawry of war in the adherence of the United States to the World Court Protocol."

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Concerning Roses

A little trellis had been put up the night before, for the progress of a Dorothy Perkins rose. The pink roses against the white trellis and the white house were already blooming in her imagination, and she said:

"Have you seen the trellis for the rose?"

He replied: "I am not much concerned with trellises and roses."

A faint flicker of irritation assailed her, a kind of resentment for the roses. And she said:

"But aside from the taint and the flaw and the poison of the rose, the trellis seemed to me an excellent piece of carpenter work."

He said nothing. And in the moment of silence, she was aware of a definite reaction in herself. From her head, swiftly out from some center to the surface shot a flicker of pain, a slender little pain, so to say, sharp and pointed as a dagger. Then a faint momentary sense of exhaustion, quickly gone. The whole thing had taken but a moment.

But she thought how infinitely complicated and delicate and mysterious must be our human reactions, going on faithfully and methodically in the dark of the body, and all of us as unaware of them as we were of the circulation of the blood before Harvey. Multiple little centers all through the body, radiating energy or finding their supplies cut off by the action or word or thought of the human being whom they so mysteriously serve. Centers as powerful as the ductless glands and perhaps associated with them. Centers whose stimulations and effects are exquisitely bound up with behavior.

It is plain that human beings—The Human Being, as Jenkin Lloyd Jones used to call us—have an infinitely greater number of reasons for being decent and kindly and honest and even fine than are ever presented to us. "Keep my commandments" or, later, "Be good and you'll be happy," seem to sum up the reasons for the average man's conscious good conduct. Even when the time comes that "Be still and know that I am God" presents itself, or the actual sense of co-operation in the working out of evolution, still we have only the faintest hints of our own tremendous sensitivity as instruments in the orchestra. We get some idea of the blare and the crash of our reactions, but we have not even approached the potentialities of harmony in ourselves.

We are told, for example, that resentment is petty. Years elapse before we observe in ourselves that an instant of resentment acts upon us like a poison, sets us trembling, gives a dull throbbing pain at the back of the head. What has happened? The psychologist will tell you glibly enough, in terms of nerve and current. But does he tell it all? Does he really explain, to anybody's satisfaction who experiences this in moral failure, why a little darting pain flickers up in the head, over a matter of roses?

We are bundles of delicate mechanism, perfectly contrived to live, move and have our being in consonance with perfection. "Form," we are told, "is a manifestation, in consonance or in dissonance with the Central Life." If this is true for art, for music or words or color, how much more is it true for action, in which we are not talking *about* this or that, but are actually manifesting it. It makes of action, of conduct, of reaction, of all behavior, the ultimate art. But *actually* the ultimate art.

It is probable that if The Human Being were equipped to look, for a single instant, understandingly upon himself, upon his own mechanism and its power of being identical with God and His routine, that all moral teaching would be accomplished in a flash. What else could he do but vibrate in unison, if only he understood. But if he were to look, he would discern no more than a Choctaw of 1492 could have divined the import of a radio tower.

"Know ye not that ye are the temple of God" is not enough. There is more to be known of our power of participation than was known to Paul. Know ye not that ye are daily in creative consonance with the Central Life—in *consonance*. And daily creating harmony or discord. And doing this literally. And doing this by natural means. By means of bodily centers, designed to be the medium perhaps for new bodily forces in the race to come.

At the idea of such delicate centers, such possible forces, we are likely to react as did the British Royal Society when Benjamin Franklin appeared before them and announced that there was a new kind of force. But in spite of the British Royal Society, we all switch on the electric light every night. And it may be that the time will come when, instead of taking up the cudgel for rose and trellis by the ancient means of momentary irritation, we shall refuse to do violence to the perfectly charted apparatus which is ourselves. And when we have finished with the mere exhaustions of dissonance, what new currents of straight energy might not flow through our bodies now, and what sources of fatigue and disease be removed. To think of ourselves but for an instant as this being of secret powers, gives to one the reaction of a momentary sense of the boundlessness of space. But *that* space we cannot control by the reactions within ourselves, while our own powers are dumbly waiting for us to release them, through the mere daily drive of our reaction to events, of our handling of line upon line and precept upon precept, or of our use of love.

And we need not move so slowly, or be so long, if we used our key—love as the fulfilling of the law—to dictate our replies and our reactions to roses and other things.

ZONA GALE.

Jottings

John S. Ewart, in his "The Roots and Causes of the Wars (1914-1918)," volume I, page 481:

If there be one revelation of the war more depressing than another, it is the fact that, among (the clergy), in proportion to their numbers, may be found more militarists than among the members of other groups of the civil populations.

A certain army officer recently told the Kiwanians of Chicago that Jane Addams "is a dangerous woman and is striking at the heart of her country." The *Manufacturers Record,* in its June issue, speaks of "Jane Addams, at one time a business partner of the bloody-handed Lenin." How happy is this great woman in the enemies she makes!

The late Anatole France is quoted as having said that Edmond Rostand, author of "Cyrano de Bergerac," "L'Aiglon" and other dramatic masterpieces, had the distinction of having written the worst poetry since Victor Hugo. What a compliment! Admirer as we are of Rostand's brilliant art, we had never dared to bring it into comparison with the work of the titanic Hugo.

It is a humbling experience to read in Count Keyserling's remarkable book, "The Travel Diary of a Philosopher," that Akbar (the great Indian Mogul) was "the greatest Emperor of whom I know," that the Taj Mahal is "the greatest of all pieces of artifice which the creative spirit of man has ever achieved," that the Bhagavad-Gita is "perhaps the most beautiful work of the literature of the world." Where do we Westerners come in if these things are true?

A June dispatch from Madrid, recently forwarded to us by a watchful friend, states that the War Department announces that "the entire harvest of the Beni Buyard tribe has been destroyed by fires set by Spanish airplanes." The dispatch adds the final touch "that high explosive bombs were dropped on peasants who were endeavoring to put out the fires in the grain stacks." Thus do Christians make war on infidels!

It is wonderful to hear that the Wisconsin legislature has appropriated $40,000 for a statue of Robert M. La Follette to be placed in Statuary Hall in the Capitol at Washington as the second of this state's heroes in the national gallery of immortals. It will be remembered that each state is allowed two memorials. Wisconsin's first statue, now in place, is of Père Marquette, the great explorer.

J. H. H.

American Notes

The fact that 1,500 delegates attended the Twelfth National Foreign Trade Convention last week in Seattle should be of interest. It is the first time that the convention was held on the "Pacific Coast," indicating of course that American business men are beginning to look across the Pacific more and more for trade. The slogan for this convention—Americans rarely do anything without a slogan (my coal-dealer has just offered to his customers a prize for the best slogan for his business)—was "Greater Prosperity through Greater Foreign Trade." One delegate remarked, "This Convention is worth more than a dozen Inter-Allied Conferences." James A. Farrell of the United States Steel Corporation, who was president of the convention, announced as an interesting bit of news calculated to produce good feeling that "the export and import trade of the United States in 1924 was the largest in the nation's history—$8,200,000,000—but this year promises the setting of a higher record." Then out of the proceedings of the convention dropped such expressions as the following by Prof. Howard T. Lewis of the College of Business Administration of the University of Washington, "For future commercial development the greatest possibilities lie in the countries on the rim of the Pacific Ocean." Mr. Farrell visualized the foreign trade of the United States by saying that "the daily arrival at or departure from the different American ports is from 60 to 70 ocean steamships averaging more than 8000 tons of carrying capacity. It required the daily service of 10000 freight cars, carrying an average load of 30 tons."

I spent a couple of hours in a "Japanese section" of the convention. It was held in the Junior Ballroom of the Olympic Hotel, the most luxurious hotel of the city. Quite a number of Japanese business men were present in this meeting, as well as in the other sessions of the convention. It is worth noting that they were referred to as "gentlemen from the sunrise kingdom," not as "Japs." Thus does business prudence make us well-mannered. And they *were* "gentlemen," for very few of the American speakers spoke as good English or as intelligently, as did delegates from Osaka, Kobe and Tokyo. And the delegates from China and the Philippines, of whom there were many, also spoke "King's English." Unquestionably, the mingling of these delegates from Orient and Occident will lead them to mutual respect and good-will. Such conventions would introduce a better understanding and more prosperity than fleet-trips. I heard a number of the delegates remark that naval activities were "poor business," at the present time.

The Japanese session brought out the fact that the United States were "Japan's best customer." The moral was brought out by K. Shibagaki, of Mitsui and Co., representing Tokyo Chamber of Commerce, by T. Yoshizumi of the Osaka Chamber of Commerce and other Japanese speakers, that Japan had every business reason not to quarrel with America. Not only was America "Japan's best customer"—taking no less than 45 per cent of Japan's exports, but also Japan's purchases from the United States, which were $26,000,000 in 1909, had increased 1,000 per cent. Japan gets

from the United States 31 per cent of all she buys abroad. It was also brought out that Japan and America in their trade are at very few points competitors, each buying from the other what the other did not produce. There were, therefore, very few points of conflict.

I was much interested in hearing V. S. McClatchy of California, chairman of the "Better International Communications" committee, speak at the Japanese meeting. He has been for years the greatest champion of Oriental exclusion from the United States. He claimed that the Exclusion act recently passed by Congress had cleared the way for a better understanding and for increasing trade. He held that America meant "no slight to Japan" by the Exclusion act, and that there was now every reason for the two peoples to work together for peace on the Pacific. Oddly enough, Mr. McClatchy in his speech addressed himself to the necessity of America having better and more adequate facilities for the transmission of news across the Pacific. He spoke with approval of Great Britain's providing a cable system which keeps her in touch with all her dominions, "with news rates of 15 cents a word between London and Australia, 15,000 miles, and 6 cents between Australia and Canada, 7,000 miles; and these rates will soon be cut one-third by radio under government operation." He complained that while the American government had permitted business interests to use the Navy radio facilities to some points, yet these business interests had been prohibited from doing this when and where private concern could handle the business. From this date—July 1st—he said, commercial messages may no longer be sent by navy radio, although that service had grown to 100,000 words a year with points that cannot be reached directly by other means. He asserted that America would be greatly handicapped especially in competition with Great Britain, if the government did not provide cheap communication or compel private companies to do so. He remarked that the "newspapers of Manila depended upon London for news. The result is that from an American point of view Manila gets little or poor news service. America is the only nation on the Pacific that permits private radios, and these private concerns stand in the way of commercial and business interests gaining information at a non-prohibitive rate. The American method tends to create private monopoly of the means of communication, which had serious effects on the peace and prosperity of the Pacific." Mr. McClatchy heartily supported the idea of Japan and America exchanging radio service on their govermental machinery.

China, of course, had a prominent place on the program. All agreed that China offered the greatest trade opportunity on the Pacific. "In spite of internal conditions," said Julean Arnold, American attache at Peking, "which are far from settled, the trade of China was greater during 1924 than any year in its history." Lo Pa-Hong, one of China's industrial magnates, was a frequent attendant on the sessions of the convention. He is general manager of the Chinese Electric Power Company etc. and incidentally, let me say, is a "good Roman Catholic"—and from this convention will proceed to Rome where he will be invested by the pope with the order of St. Sylvester, a good illustration of how religion and business are being mingled in our day. On his arrival in America he was met at the dock by a group of Catholic clergy, quite in contrast with receptions accorded some arrivals from the Orient. Very suggestively, this Chinese industrialist and philosopher carried a huge card, with his name in English on one side and in Chinese on the other,—and his titles, honors conferred, on both sides. "Needn't worry over the Chinese," an on-looker observed, "they'll get on."

Let me make note of two luncheons: One luncheon was given at the Chamber of Commerce to the first delegation of Oriental and other foreign visitors ever invited to take part in an American National Trade Council. This is not new to British, but it marks a departure in American business life. The other luncheon was attended by the first representatives of twelve Pacific Coast cities, including Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland and Seattle to meet together to consider jointly the best development of the Coast's river and harbor facilities. Never before had these cities come together, by representatives, for united discussion and action. This seems to indicate that in view of the future bound up in the Pacific Ocean the industrial and commercial activities of the whole Coast from San Diego up to Canada will be called upon, in the interests of economy and efficiency, to act as a unit.

SYDNEY STRONG.

THE HERMIT THRUSH

Out from the deep forest,
Breaking the shining silence
Of the afternoon,
There calls a hidden voice,
A serene voice—
Singing out from among the shadows
Of the cool green calm
The simple sylvan melody
Of the hermit thrush.

O strong voice, clear voice,
Calm voice
Breaking the shining silence
Of late summer's afternoon
And heralding such peace
From out thy hidden fastness—
Would that I too might speak
From out the dim recess of my obscurity
And break the silence of my time
With voice one-half so tranquil
And so sure—
Singing one simple note of truth!

MABEL F. BLAKESLEE.

AT THE GOLDEN GATE

At th' Golden Gate he knocked;
"Who thou?"—the voice asked;
"Myself a far-famed man";
"The Gate is barred: depart."

Another knock:—"Who thou?"
"A learned man with tomes."
And still the voice said:—
"The Gate is barred: depart."

Another knock:—"Who thou?"
"A man in soiled clothes,
A lover of the leper,
A servant of the poor."

The Voice joy-filled said:—
"The Gate now greets its Lord;
Tat Twamasi: the Self,
O Soiled One, thou art!"

—*T. L. Vaswani.*
The New Dispensation, India.

Liberia's Year

Today, July 26, 1925, the Republic of Liberia completes seventy-eight years of existence as a nation. It is my custom, on this day, to give some thought to the condition of the country and to take stock of her situation. For Liberia is of more than slight concern to us of the United States and her interests and prospects should have serious significance for us. This year we have the Annual Message of President C. D. B. King to guide us in our survey. On the whole, the condition of affairs is favorable and the outlook is bright.

In foreign affairs, there is one disquieting incident. Liberia has, as neighbors, two powerful European nations, Great Britain and France. They have, at times, taken advantage of her weakness. The past has been a record of difficulties, of pressure, of loss. The territory of Liberia has considerably shrunken. There have been cessions on both borders, to both nations. It is to be hoped that the period of encroachment has passed and that we shall see no more of it. More particularly is this the case since Liberia was the ally of these nations in the great war, and is now a member of the League of Nations. The two facts should guarantee her future against aggression and assure a generosity of treatment greater than she has enjoyed in the past.

The incident is best told in the words of President King:

> I regret exceedingly that I cannot make a similar report as to the conditions of our Franco-Liberian boundary. On the twenty-second day of July, of the present year, (1924) the French Charge d'Affaires at this Capital called at the Department of State, and in the name of his Government handed the Secretary of State a *Note Verbale,* most threatening in its character. This Note grew out of an incident which occurred on the Franco-Liberian frontier a year or two ago, at a town called Boni, in the neighborhood of which three French subjects were drowned. The French authorities claimed that the parties were murdered. Immediately information of the alleged incident was given to the Liberian Government, an inquiry was instituted, the findings of which, in the opinion of the Liberian Government, conclusively established the fact that no murder had been committed, but that the French subjects in question (women) were drowned as the result of an accident.
>
> The French Government, on its part, profess to challenge the accuracy and impartiality of these findings, upon the ground that the investigations were not made under the surveillance of a French official, and, therefore, in the Note above referred to, threatened in the event incidents of a like nature should recur, to occupy certain posts in Liberian territory as a guarantee of security and tranquility on the frontier.

It is unfair for white nations to demand more from a negro government than they would from another white nation; it is unfair to demand greater care *from* Liberia, than is exercised towards her. The reply made by Liberia to the French Note is on the whole dignified and respectful. It ends with the words:

> The Liberian Government cannot therefore admit the claim of right, and whilst willing in every respect to meet the reasonable complaints of the French Government in a spirit of mutual accommodation, will nevertheless find themselves, in the eventuality threatened by the French Note, compelled to protest and do now solemnly protest against any wanton, unwarranted, unprovoked, and forcible violation of the Republic or any illegal invasion of its rights.

The message states that further discussion of the matter led to apparent restoration of good feeling, which is much to be desired.

The most serious matter of internal administration concerns a situation in Grand Bassa County. We tell the story by quotation of four passages from the Message. We do not know the facts in full; we have only the statement as here made. Unfortunately the settlement of Liberia was not a homogeneous expansion from a single centre. It was made by differing, and even from the beginning rival and somewhat hostile, groups from this country. "Maryland" was an absolutely independent colony for a period of years; the feeling between Grand Bassa and Monrovia dates back to their very foundation. Time is necessary for the wearing away of such sentiments. Anything that accentuates such differences is unfortunate. In the present instance it is to be hoped that the jealousies and dislikes of the past have not been rendered bitter by *political* events of recent happening.

> The constant recurrence, in the County of Grand Bassa, of acts of a criminal and disloyal character, led the Cabinet at a special meeting called for that purpose in the month of August last, to carefully consider the then existing situation in that County and the grave national, as well as international, consequences which must ultimately result to the Republic therefrom, if matters were not immediately taken in hand by the central Government and firmly administered until such time as the County shall have been restored to a state of normalcy.
>
> In keeping with the above decisions of the Cabinet, I at once issued an Executive Order dated August 12th, 1924, suspending the charter of the said Municipal Corporations, together with their officers, and in their stead appointed an Executive Commission constituted as follows:
>
> The Honorable James S. Smith, Supt. of Grand Bassa Co., Chairman.
> Honorable Thomas N. Tyler of Montserrado Co.
> Captain T. Elwood Davis of Montserrado Co.
>
> That the steps taken by the Executive Government to enforce respect for law and order to Bassa County did not meet with general approval in that County is much to be regretted. Instead of charging this man and that man with having reported affairs to Headquarters, and characterising the actions taken by the Central Government as an attempt on the part of Monrovia, to rule Bassa, the citizens of Bassa should have taken a more serious and rational view of the situation, and welcomed the advent of the Executive Government into their County, for the purpose of apprehending and bringing to justice the criminal element thereof, no matter from what rank of the community they may be found.
>
> Although it undoubtedly wounded the pride of every true citizen of Bassa County, to see Commissioners and troops sent from Monrovia, landed in Bassa, yet the wound would have been deeper and more far reaching in its results if the troops despatched to Bassa were not all Liberians, but foreigners sent by some foreign Power to protect the lives and property of their subjects and to collect, in their behalf, a heavy indemnity from the Liberian Government; holding the port of Grand Bassa as security, pending payment.
>
> I am pleased to say that the measures taken by us, as above outlined, have had the most salutary effect upon conditions in Bassa, and that the good citizens of that County are now loyally co-operating with the Commission in its efforts to bring about a healthier state of affairs in the County. Your approval of our actions is respectfully requested.
>
> *Message: 1924.* pp. 47-50.

If the criminal and disloyal acts here mentioned were merely acts of political partisanship carried to an extreme in the late campaign and largely personal in nature, it will prove a misfortune to have dealt with the matter by such a vigorous assertion of central authority —amounting really to martial law. If they were criminal and disloyal in the usual sense, without the injection of partisan and personal hatreds, the outcome may be as happy as the President's words lead us to hope.

The financial condition and outlook of the Republic warrant hope. Our space does not permit the introduction of a table of import and export statistics. A few

words will, however, show the situation. The business of the nation has held steadily, with some gain, during the years from 1920 to 1924. The most striking fact is the recovery, by Germany, of first position, both in import and export trade. In 1890, her total was about $20,000; in 1924, it was considerably over $1,000,000 (imports $421,726.14; exports $624,218.40—in the first nine months of the year only).

> It will be seen that during the periods covered in the above comparative tables, our imports from and exports to England have steadily decreased, while those from and to Germany and Holland have steadily increased.
>
> It will also be noticed that the appreciable trade with the United States in 1920 amounting in imports to $287,523.28 has been absorbed to a great extent by Germany and Holland exactly as the English trade has been absorbed by the same countries, and until the United States starts buying directly from Liberia, Liberia will not be able to increase her purchases from the United States.
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> * * *
>
> These tables also indicate a tendency toward the balance of trade in favor of Liberia; and, as the General Receiver so correctly puts it in his report, "This movement towards a favorable balance of trade is undoubtedly the most healthy and encouraging proof, that could be found, of the economic recovery of the country."

These trade sources are "assigned revenues." They are subject to administrators, to apply upon the foreign debt. The income is sufficient to meet the needs. Liberian bonds are rising. Interest is being paid when due and it looks as if the Republic will eventually meet all her obligations unaided.

> The amounts paid the Fiscal Agents of the Liberian Gold Loan were in accordance with existing understandings and represent the sum necessary to cover the coupon interest payments when they become due, and to also provide for the Sinking Fund of the Liberian Gold Loan bonds. Interest coupons were promptly paid on January 1 and July 1 of the present year, and there are sufficient funds, on deposit, to meet the coupons due January 1, 1925. Monies have been paid into the Sinking Fund regularly, and as reported to the Secretary of the Treasury by our Fiscal Agents in New York, The National City Bank. Bonds that have been retired as funds to the extent of $50,000, became available during the course of the year from this source.

Nor is this the entire story. Not only are the "assigned revenues" adequate to meet the demands; internal revenues are reaching a respectable figure. If brought about without too heavy a tax upon the necessities of life, this is the most encouraging feature in the finance of the Republic.

> The above statement affords an interesting study of the expansiveness of the revenue earning capacity of the government, especially in connection with its internal revenues. When, taking into consideration the fact that in 1911 the government realized from its internal revenue the small amount of $1,200 and considering that the amount was so small and insignificant that it was thought at that time not worth while to include this item in the revenues assigned under the Liberian 5 per cent Gold Loan of 1911, and that within a period of thirteen years these revenues, under absolute management and control have exceeded a quarter of a million dollars, and have nearly reached the amount accruing from Assigned Revenues, all impartial observers must give some credit to Liberian financial initiative, ability and management.

We had intended to speak of roads, light-houses, native schools, regarding all of which there is matter of interest, but must pass them by. They are all important. There are three remaining items to which we shall give brief consideration.

Of these the most important is native administration. The future rests upon it as much as on any single element. The million and a half *natives* of Liberia belong to almost, or quite, a score of tribes—differing in language, character, and to some degree in life. To awaken in them a sentiment of common interests, of nationality, of loyalty to the central government, is of utmost importance. Towards such an awakening several agencies are operating. Trade, missionary effort, education—each has its part. Very significant in this respect is the contact between Americo-Liberian and native brought about by the existence and organization of the Frontier Force. It is made up of natives from the interior. Much can be said of its demoralizing influence upon individual natives brought from their villages and subjected to the temptations and vices of civilization; but, after all, these men go back to their homes with new ideas; they have begun to understand the idea of central government, of the Republic; they have undergone some discipline; they have a wider outlook. They are an actual connecting link between the government and the Hinterland. The contact between the government and the native is of vital importance. Internal administration demands the most careful attention. An important advance, made during the year, is a new districting. Of this President King says:

> The division of the Hinterland into five administrative districts has facilitated control of the Hinterland administration. Heretofore there was a greater number of Districts without definite boundaries. Several tribes were brought under one administrative district without regard to their ethnological relations. The present new arrangements bring together, under one District, all the tribes that have been affiliating from times immemorial. These tribes have habits and customs in common, and they speak one another's dialects. By this, administration among them is rendered comparatively easy for a district Commissioner; while supervision and control are also made easy for the Secretary of the Interior, as the administrative head of the Interior Department.

This is a step in the right direction. The best possible districting will not solve the problem. The finding and appointing of able men as district commissioners is vital. A bad district commissioner in Liberia is a serious danger. There have been some such in the past. It is not easy to find men who are fit for the task, but the future of the nation depends upon doing so.

The President's message mentions the death of James Jenkins Dossen, which occurred at Cape Palmas (Maryland) on August 17, 1923. A native of "Maryland," he had filled various local offices; he had been vice-president of the Republic and, at the time of his death, was the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. He was well and favorably known in this country, having been a member of the Commission that came to make an appeal to this country during President Roosevelt's administration. Of the new member of the Supreme Court, whose appointment was rendered necessary by the death of Justice Dossen, the President says:

> Mr. Justice Beysolow, who has just left your ranks as a member of the House of Representatives from the County of Grand Cape Mount, carries with him to the bench of the Supreme Court a clear Legislative record of honesty, efficiency and loyalty. He is the first from the indigenous tribes of the country to occupy such an exalted and distinguished post.

Little by little, the *native* works into the official life of the nation. It is a hopeful sign. Several cabinet members have been natives; the vice-president at present is a native; now a native sits as a number of the highest court. So far the Vai and the Grebo have furnished most of the public men who have come from the tribes —rarely have there been others. The Vai is one of the most able and enterprising of West African peoples;

there are historic reasons why the Grebo have had a special chance to reach places of position and honor. But there is a vast vitality and strength in the Kru, in the Bassa, and in other tribes. There is no lack of ability among them. They will contribute in due proportion in their turn."

A curious, somewhat disagreeable, and potentially dangerous incident is mentioned by President King. For some time, a colored agitator in this country has been attracting considerable attention. He has appeared before congressional committees, has lectured and harangued large audiences, has had printed media of publicity. He has preached a peculiar brand of segregation; he has launched grandiose schemes of migration, of settlement, almost of conquest. He has been able to secure a following of negroes and some degree of white support. Liberia has had to deal with him and his. Of this, the message says:

> The growing intensity of the vitriolic racial propaganda launched, in America, by an association composed principally of West Indians and a few American Negroes, and the apparent intention of that association to use Liberia as its base for the dissemination of its propaganda of racial hatred and ill-will, compelled the Executive Government, during the recess of your honorable body, in the exercise of its police powers, to place a veto upon the proposed operations of the association in Liberia, by deporting from the country certain of its emissaries who had been sent out to start the founding of the first of their proposed colonies on the banks of the Cavallo River, facing our French neighbors, without having first obtained the permission and approval of the Liberia Government. The landing in Liberia of a special commission, sent thereafter by the association, was also prohibited by us. The loud and continued boasts of members of that association in America, to the effect, that they had obtained a firm foot hold in Liberia, and that the Republic would be used as the *point d'appui* whence the grandiose schemes of their leader, finding their fruition, would be launched, made it necessary for the Executive Government of Liberia to take such concrete and effective steps as would show to our friendly territorial neighbors, and the world at large, that Liberia was not in any way associated or in sympathy with any movement, no matter from what sources arising, which tends to intensify racial feelings of hatred and ill-will.
>
> There can be no denying of the fact that considerable sympathy is felt in Liberia, and justly so, with efforts of our racial group all over the world to ameliorate their social, political and economic conditions. This is a long way, however, from saying that Liberians have any sympathy with political incendiarism, whether proceeding from negro or from other sources.
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> * * *
>
> If Negroes, in America or elsewhere, desire to come as settlers in Liberia to assist us in our great work, they will receive a hearty and cordial welcome, provided they come with the right spirit, take the oath of allegiance to the Republic, and sincerely repudiate all former allegiances. Liberia cannot recognize dual citizenship.
>
> Liberia desires immigration. The civilized population needs reinforcement but, as a state already recognized among the family of nations, we could not give countenance to any association whose avowed objects and widely advertised plans are the launching of a race war against friendly states in Africa. To such, Liberia's doors must be securely barred. But all Negroes coming to Liberia in full sympathy with Liberia's National aspirations and with a desire to assist and co-operate in making Liberia a strong, prosperous and stable state, will be most cordially received with open arms.

There is much more in Liberia's year and in President King's message that deserves attention. But we have already overrun the space we have a right to occupy. We congratulate the Republic upon the year that ends. We extend to her and her president, her government, her people, best wishes and hopes that the coming, her seventy-eighth year may be one of continued and abounding progress.

FREDERICK STARR.

The Story of My Mind

XX

In October, 1895, I attended the biennial session of the National Conference of Unitarian Churches, which met that year in Washington. One of the speakers was G. Stanley Hall, President of Clark University, who gave an address on religious teaching. I took the opportunity presented to question him in regard to the social phases of psychology, especially those which result from the differences in sex. At this time I sought out John W. Powell, then at the head of the Bureau of American Ethnology, which, in fact, he had largely created. Another worker along the same lines whom I interviewed was Otis T. Mason, whose books I had recently read. I sought out these men, to the neglect of the Conference, for the sake of more direct information than their writings conveyed, and in order that I might secure solutions to various problems which had confronted and puzzled me.

I was much impressed by the rough, honest and outspoken manner of Powell, whom I recognized as of the true type of western pioneer, at once original and free from conventional defences and bigotries. Another original character I met at the Bureau of Ethnology in the person of Frank Hamilton Cushing, whose reports on the Zuni Indians had greatly impressed me. I had two or three interviews with Cushing, and as soon as possible afterward I put down on paper the answers he gave to my questions.

My studies led me to attend the summer-school for teachers at Clark University, in 1896, attracted thereto by my interview with President Hall the year before. I there met a large body of the leading teachers of the country, who had come to look upon pedagogy as a theory and as an art in a radically new manner. They were giving chief attention to the processes of the mental growth of the child, and adjusting their teaching to the genetic conception of the nature of the mind. I heard a course of lectures by Stanley Hall on child-study or the evolution of the child through the several processes of its physical, psychical, and social development. I was most impressed by the idea brought out elaborately in these lectures, that much which appears in the life of the child is the result of its genetic descent from far-off animal and savage ancestors, and even the creatures which swam in the sea or crawled on the land, the earlier types of organic life. For instance, in his lecture on fears, Dr. Hall said that many of those of an unaccountable and uncontrollable nature are inheritances from the period when our ancestors, many thousands of years ago, were beset with great physical sources of danger.

> "I feel strongly," he said, "that we have before us (in these fears) some of the oldest elements of psychic life, some faint reminiscent atavistic echo from the primeval sea, antedating limbs, and possibly even visual factors of space perception."

As the result of man's contact with wind, storms and thunder, he was led to a conception of spiritual powers hidden in them.

"More perhaps," said Dr. Hall, "than any or all things else, [these phenomena] created in primitive consciousness the unseen spiritual world. . . . Children's souls still show abundant traces of the original psychoplasm out of which primitive man created the many fairy or demonial beings seen in cloud, fog and all the phenomena of day and night."

It was said to me by one or two persons, "Why should you come here; these lectures are especially for teachers, of whom you are not one!" This was only another of many intimations that the profession to which I belonged was regarded as a sort of closed field, devoted only to theology and ecclesiasticism. On the other hand, I found in Dr. Hall's lectures, and in many of the others I heard that summer, a broadening of the whole mental horizon for me, a new conception of the human mind, and of the methods of growth in society. These lectures were strictly confined to psychology, and no one of the men I heard gave any sign of being interested in sociology or recognized how intimately it is related to their manner of treatment of the evolution of the mind. In fact, I felt convinced that their treatment of psychology was lame because they had given no adequate attention to sociology and its processes. In the summer of 1902 I was again present at Clark University, on this occasion as a correspondent of the Boston *Transcript*. At this time I heard from Dr. Hall the lectures since published in his volumes on "Adolescence."

On two or three occasions my mind has been thoroughly shaken up, and set into action in fresh directions; and these visits to Clark University were one of the most important. It deepend my conviction, already somewhat chaotically formed, that the mind is a product of evolution, that its individual development is a repetition in brief, but with many short cuts and skips, of the evolution of the racial mind. I came also to think that society precedes the individual, and that it shapes all persons to its own needs and activities. It was not altogether easy for me to let go of my old idea of personality as unique, as learning through intuition from the great Oversoul or Universal Mind; but gradually I was able to accept the new point of view, and to grasp its significance.

I was able to do this because I followed up very assiduously my studies of the history of woman. In studying the customs of primitive peoples, such as those of Australia, Oceanica, Africa, and North America, I realized to what an extent the process of shaping the child mind to the social customs of the clan was everywhere carried by such races. I saw that the child was constantly drilled in the customs and industrial activities of its clan, and that at puberty every boy and girl was carried through ceremonies calculated to make the profoundest impression upon the youthful mind, and to initiate the youth, especially the boy, into the moral customs, the legal observances, and the religious rites and beliefs of his people. These rites of initiation were often cruel, nearly all of them prolonged and soul-racking, but through suggestion, hypnotic influence, and drill in habits of mind and action, the youth was prepared to observe as sacred all the customs which he acquired in this process of socialization. These studies enabled me to realize that in all advanced societies the same processes are followed, however much they may differ in detail. By means of the family life, the school, the acquiring of a craft or profession, and the drill of morals and religion, we socialize our children, and prepare them to live in conformity with the conventions and institutions and laws of society. The morality which we teach our children is what we have been taught, and what society has established as the result of its experiences, as making for its perpetuation and its growth. Law is custom systematized and made binding by a series of punishments. Religion lends the sanction of supernatural powers to these social customs. Behind all these human institutions is the social body, which trains every individual more or less effectively for living in harmony with its requirements and its ideals.

In a word, society makes the individual, not the individual society. The result of grasping this conception was to lessen my interest in individuals, and to increase that in the great social forces which produce sects, parties, races, and civilizations. I had been a deeply interested reader of biographies, applying to my own situation and experiences those of the men and women of whom I read; and trying to reshape my own life by the pattern of those who had done something in the world which had made them worthy of biographical notice. The new point of view took away much, if not all of this interest in persons, and showed me that personality is quite other than I had supposed. No person can be understood apart from his time, his city or his country, and the whole environment amidst which he is placed. He is not only a manifestation of that environment, but he is directly its product, as well as its recreator and reshaper to new ends and purposes. It makes him what he is, and he returns to it some part of himself, if his mind is original and creative.

I was not contented to take implicitly the statements of scholars whose names I have mentioned, or any others whose works I read. I was desirous of knowing the facts for myself, in so far as that was possible. I was not a professional psychologist or a sociologist, and it was not possible for me to do laboratory or experimental work as carried on by scientific investigators. Nor could I travel into Africa, Australia, or elsewhere, to study savage peoples under native conditions. It was possible for me, however, to give attention to all the facts which have been provided by ethnologists in regard to the peoples of the world, to compare their results, and to work out conclusions for myself. This gave me a basis for rather extended studies into the manner in which the family, the clan and tribe, the city-state and the nation, came into existence, and how each of these grew, and connected itself with the others.

I may indicate the kind of studies I undertook, such as the attentive reading of all the volumes of the *Journal of the Anthropological Society* of Great Britain and Ireland, now reaching to more than forty volumes, the sixty or more volumes published by the Bureau of American Ethnology, and innumerable volumes treating of primitive peoples in all parts of the world. These have included all the volumes of Lewis H. Morgan, John F. McLennan, Andrew Lang, John Lubbock (later Lord Avebury), Edward Westermarck, Roberston Smith, Alexander Sutherland, J. G. Frazer, Otis T. Mason, W. Crooke, Sidney Hartland, A. E. Crawley, and a great number of others. The works dealing with the ancient civilizations have been also diligently read. These studies have included China, Japan, India, Babylonia, Egypt, Grece; and I have followed the investigations of archaeologists, but especially the students of early art, ethics, custom, law, literature, and religion, as well as economics and sociology. In no sense a specialist in any of these fields of inquiry, the large human implications of such studies have fascinated me, and impelled me to such mastery of them as time and op-

portunity permitted. The more I delved into these subjects, and the larger grew the masses of notes I made as the results of my reading, the more decided grew my conviction, that the social and political theories which are transmitted to us as sound and valid need serious revision. I was forced into the acceptance of the conclusion, as the result of my inquiries, that property, for instance, did not begin in the manner usually described, and that it has not been of any such service to mankind, or in such ways, as its defenders assure us is the case. In the same manner I passed judgment on kings, armies, wars, the methods by which justice is secured, the worth of the individual leader to the society which he guides, and many other established opinions. I did not hastily call in question these opinions, which had grown up through the ages, and had acquired almost the force and authority of laws of nature; but I was compelled to query in regard to what the facts did not seem to justify, then to try to find out what were the real causes, and finally I reached definite conclusions of my own.

In all these studies I had a definite object in view, that of finding out what has caused the subjection of women, why they have had in most societies a different status to that of men, and why they have been held to be mentally inferior, and debarred from the means of education and political advancement. In these directions I found, either that the students of social conditions had quite ignored women, or that they had permitted traditional opinions to guide them. The fact that men of science could ignore a sex, allow one-half of mankind to go without recognition, and follow conventional conclusions instead of seriously investigating the facts, did not increase my confidence in the sociologists. The propounders of political economy, ethics, law, religion, and most of the sciences dealing with the family and the interests of women, were apparently indifferent to the existence of women and whatever especially concerns them. I found that, to a very large extent, the same ignoring of the toilers of the world was to be found everywhere. The men who work, who have been slaves, serfs, and wage-earners, were rarely recognized as having any meaning for those who interpret the nature of society and its processes. The mothers of men, and the doers of the world's work, these two great classes, which together constitute four-fifths of the members of all political societies, have no recognition in the histories of nations or only one that is evidently in no sense broad-minded and generous.

These findings of mine did not predispose me to the acceptance of the theories usually propounded in works of political economy, sociology, political science, jurisprudence, and ethics. The science of political economy came to seem not only, as Carlyle called it, a dismal science, but a brutal science, and one based largely on prejudices, and ignorance of facts of the first importance. It dealt with material commodities called wealth; but all real wealth, that of human happiness, health, and the sane union of societies into effective organs of social welfare, it largely ignored. Sociology dealt largely with abstractions, with metaphysical conceptions, not with human beings, and their methods of co-operation for securing the results they desire. Political science retained a body of notions which grew up ages ago, and under conditions wholly unlike our own; but they are accepted as if they were of the utmost validity and sanctity. I came to the conclusion that these theories cripple even the most advanced nations, and make real progress impossible. Natural rights, contract, laissez faire, individual freedom, in fact, all the principles set forth in our Declaration of Independence and the Bills of Rights of many of our states, seemed to me to have become merely out-grown abstractions, with no real meaning for our time.

GEORGE WILLIS COOKE.

(To Be Continued)

THE STUDY TABLE

An Anarchist's Diary in Russia

This book** presents a terrible picture of Bolshevik Russia. It had to do so, of course! Berkman, exiled from America on the famous transport *"Buford,"* arrived in the land of the Bolsheviki in January, 1920, and remained there until September, 1921. This was the period of dark and cold, starvation and horror, in the tremendous drama of the Revolution. The Great War, the revolutionary collapse in 1917, the Allied blockade, the "White" invasions, the counter-revolutionary conspiracies, pestilence, famine and the refusal of the Communist experiment to work under conditions of hostility without and demoralization within—all these had wrought their climax of disaster at just the time when Berkman appeared upon the scene—and his day-by-day picture in his diary of what he saw and experienced is awful reading.

But there is more than the sheer necessities of the case in this book! Berkman deliberately *intends* that his diary shall be terrible. His notations, in other words, give us not only a picture of Bolshevik Russia in its days of bitterest struggle, but a judgment on this picture—and it is a judgment as hostile as it is unfair. Berkman arrived in Russia as in "the Promised Land," his mind full of utopian dreams, and utterly oblivious to the grim realities of the Russian situation. He expected to find, apparently, a land from which every ill had been banished and in which every blessing had been achieved. He looked confidently for freedom, happiness, enlightenment, brotherhood. He did not find them! What right had he to expect to find them? Russia in her own estate quite apart from the dreadful things which had befallen her since 1914, was undeveloped, uneducated, superstitious, deformed and perverted by long years of tyranny and oppression. This was enough to explain the worst in such an era as 1920. In addition, however, this land had been hurled deep into the gulf of war and revolution. Instead of finding, therefore, his dreams, Berkman found a great people battling for the bare necessities of life, a society struggling madly to hold itself from slipping into utter barbarism, a government set ruthlessly to the task of utilizing every means of maintaining order, resisting invasion, conquering disease and famine, re-establishing transportation and industry, and at the same time salvaging some vestige of its own program of proletarian democracy. Of this *mise en scène* Berkman apparently saw nothing. He saw only his own disillusionments—

** "The Bolshevik Myth," by Alexander Berkman, published by Boni & Liveright, New York.

especially the violence, cruelty and the "Terror" which still were dominant in Russian life. His diary, as an indictment of the Bolsheviki, has all the validity that my indictment of a neighbor would have if I blamed him for not taking me into his parlor and serving me afternoon tea when his house was on fire on the upper story and burglars were breaking in on the lower story.

I wondered, as I read this book, what kind of a diary Berkman may have written about his life in America. Would the picture be any fairer, the understanding any more adequate and just? After all—to speak only of the "Terror"—at a time when America was rich, prosperous and powerful, when her enemy in arms was thousands of miles away, Berkman was arrested and imprisoned. At a time when America was victor in a great war, the unchallenged master of world affairs, Berkman was seized and forcibly deported. In Russia, *per contra,* when there was invasion on every frontier, when food was so scarce that the entire population was rationed, when the government trembled on the brink of utter dissolution and chaos, this same Berkman, associating us in America with foes of the established order, was free to go and come as he would, and when he left Russia, left of his own accord. J. H. H.

CORRESPONDENCE

ENGLAND—AND PASSPORTS FROM INDIA!

[We print herewith, in part, a letter from India telling of the endeavors of a group of non-political, non-resistant, lovers of peace to carry on a world-wide mission, and their experience with the Indian government. Facts like these tempt us to speculate as to whether governments as such are not to be regarded as the organized enemies of humanity.—Ed.]

I wish to tell you of the very irresponsible manner in which the Government here is acting. We have established many connections in all the civilized countries of the world and many requests have been made to us to send out representatives from India to tour round the world. It was decided to send a Peace Mission and passports were applied for for our brother Prof. Jadunath Sinha, M.A., P.R.S. and the writer. Government have refused without giving any reason for it.

The strangest part of it is all the local government officials recommended us for passports. The Subdivisional Officer of Deoghar, the District Superintendent of Police (a European gentleman) and the Deputy Commissioner, the officer in charge of the whole district wrote in our favour. The first two came and mixed with us, talked to us, saw us at worship and after making searching enquiry from others reported for us. The Deputy Commissioner even wrote to Government saying that we do not concern ourselves with Indian politics as such.

Apparently, the Government is in fear. But is there anything in the whole of our private and public conduct, during the last 17 years, which can inspire fear in their hearts? There is absolutely nothing and we challenge Government to point to anything said or done by us, to which exception can be taken by any civilized government. During all these years, we have most consistently stood for a world-embracing brotherhood and emphasizing spiritual regeneration as the first and foremost need of the world. . . .

We have ever stood in the broadest light of day and Government is perfectly aware of our views. The Government can never misunderstand us unless it be their policy to misunderstand us. Or, are they opposed to any change? And what change have we been advocating? We have abundantly made it clear that changes imposed from without are absolutely worthless and instead of shortening human suffering will only intensify and multiply it. There is no royal road to human happiness except by way of universal spiritual regeneration and this finding expression in a completely new order of things. We have stood for nothing if not for Peace. We have not asked for anything more than God's Kingdom on earth. We have condemned violence, wherever it may be, in the most unequivocal manner—not only violence in deed but even violence in thought. What is the Government then afraid of? Has the Government lost its head so completely that it cannot know those who are most sincerely working for Peace from its critics and enemies?

In other countries it is wrong-doing that a government puts down but here a civilized government puts down the most righteous efforts. For 2000 years Christians have been praying for the coming of God's Kingdom on earth. But here is a Christian government that is working against it. Here is a government that is standing against Peace. Do they not realize that to restrict the movement of Peace is to give extended scope to the forces of disorder?

My dear brother, this is a matter in which I would ask you to take the greatest interest. If Peace movements are to be at the tender mercies of such irresponsible governments, there will be an end of many movements. It is an attempt not only to stifle us but is a challenge to all peace forces in the world. You know, all governments now recognize that there is a world public opinion and governments are anxious to court it. I think it would be a good thing if you brought it to the notice of the American public through the Press and also of all the peace bodies in the U. S. A.

Assuring you of our sincerest fraternal love and good wishes,
I remain, dear brother,
Yours in fraternity,
X

SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARD CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA

Dear UNITY:

Some months ago I passed criticism on the agreement that was made between the Soviet and Chinese governments, concerning the question of the Russian property in Peking, and in other parts of China. I pointed out that the purpose of the Soviet Representative in China was to secure possession of all the Russian Church property on the ground that this church property formally belonged to the Russian State. I also gave the reasons for my objection to this policy, and this was that all Russian Church property in China, as well as the property of the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches, does not belong to any foreign state, nor even to the Chinese government, but is distinctly ecclesiastical property, not to be used for other purposes.

I have nothing to say concerning the attitude of the Soviet Government toward Christianity or the Russian Orthodox Church in Russia, for I have no special means of information. There are, however, two or three features that may be brought out regarding the attitude of the Soviet Government toward Christianity and the Russian Orthodox Church as they present themselves before our eyes here in China. The first feature is really based on the Soviet principle of Communism. This means that all private property is taken away and that all property belongs to the State, and is under the control of the State. This principle, however, is contrary to the established rule in China. Here there has always been a recognition, not only of private property, but of church property. In connection with all missions, it has been stated that church property did not belong to any foreign society or to any foreign government, but it was the property of the Church as locally established. Therefore the Soviet policy is different from that which has been pursued in the past by the Chinese Government.

In the second place we have an illustration of the Soviet attitude as seen in connection with the treatment that was meted out to the Russian Church as found within the quarters of the Russian Embassy. This Church was originally started about 270 years ago, and was really a Russian Church Mission, before it had anything to do with the diplomatic mission of the old Russian Government. This particular church was one of two churches established in Peking, and, through assistance rendered the early Russian diplomats or envoys by the ecclesiastical mission, there came a combination of this particular ecclesiastical mission and the representatives of Russian government. This particular church being within the quarters of the former Russian Legation, was handed over to the present Soviet Embassy. Immediately the Embassy removed the cross and all the indications of church worship within the place and also ceased to hold any further Christian worship within the building. The ancient sanctuary was turned into an ordinary club house or amusement hall. This indicates about as well as anything the attitude of the Soviet Embassy, at least in Peking, toward the Christian forms of worship.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

REV. HARRY TAYLOR RETURNS FROM AUSTRALIA

Rev. Harry Taylor, whose letters from Melbourne will be remembered by our readers, has recently returned to this country. He is seeking settlement and any church interested may communicate with him direct at the Unitarian Headquarters in San Francisco.

A SUMMARY OF OUTLAWRY

[We print herewith a statement of "a few of the fundamentals" of the Outlawry of War idea. Until these are grasped, it is useless to try to understand the Outlawry program. This statement, we may add, was written for a private letter by Mr. S. O. Levinson, originator and leading proponent of Outlawry. It may therefore be regarded as authoritative.—Ed.]

(a) It greatly facilitates the concept of Outlawry of War to bear in mind the institutional status of war. It, being an institution, is necessarily lawful and an institution cannot be outlawed by any other method than law. Other things may be done after that, but the indispensable prerequisite to the abolition of this institution is its condemnation by law. It must be de-legalized and thereby de-institutionalized.

(b) We show that War is as legal an institution as marriage, the school, or the church. The League of Nations itself is an institution. The international slave trade was an institution: likewise domestic slavery and dueling. These have been outlawed by Great Britain and this country through the Anglo-Saxon processes of law.

(c) We do not proceed by way of disarmament, rather following the precept of Prof. Oppenheim who says that the path to disarmament is through the abolition of war and not the reverse. While we believe in disarmament both as an economic necessity and as a means of getting away from the growth of distrust and fear which competition in arms brings about, still we say that war is the cause of armament infinitely more than that armament causes war.

(d) We waste little time on the problem of causes of war although we realize that everything that makes for irritation, distrust, fear, jealousy, prejudice, greed and revenge, ought to be minimized or removed. But we proceed much more directly. We make a frontal attack upon the whole war system. We say that the removal of causes is so slow and uncertain a process, and involves possibly changes in human nature that are not to be expected, that successful results cannot be obtained in that way, at least in time to head off another world war. We also say that when the use of war has been abandoned by general treaty among civilized nations the so-called causes of war will much more easily subside and the work of removing causes of friction, etc., will be thereby greatly facilitated. At present, unfortunately, everything in the international field is interpreted in terms of potential war. Thus the alarmist, the imperialist, the extreme nationalist, all are able to keep their respective peoples on the qui vive for possible wars and the multifarious necessities that preparation for such wars involve.

(e) And we particularly insist that there is no justice inherent in force and that international peace cannot be established by force and that the last great example of this principle occurred in the Great War which was to end all war. We say that in the last analysis faith and the plighted word must be accepted and relied upon, whether it be in the ordinary paths of our daily domestic life or whether it is by contractual treaties and compacts for trade and relationships between the nations or even when the security against war is sought by means of military alliances. In all these cases somebody's word—some ruler's, some nation's, some peoples' word—must be taken. We insist that the nations should be organized on a basis of confidence and faith, faith of the plighted word for peace rather than faith of the plighted word for security in armament and war. Nor does this imply a weakening of the defenses required by the several nations, at least until it is demonstrated that the plighted word will become as generally recognized in international relations as in domestic relations by the peoples as a whole the same as by individuals. Thus we hope in time that armament will abate to the point of domestic security rather than be measured by the yardstick of international security in a world where war is authoritative and legal.

AN AMBASSADOR OF FRIENDSHIP

An ambassador of friendship to the people of the Philippine Islands landed in Manila yesterday in the person of the Reverend Clarence A. Neff of Foochow, China, according to cable advices. Mr. Neff is being sent to the Islands by the American branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation whose office is at 383 Bible House, New York City, to convey to the people there the knowledge that there is in America a growing group which is in cordial sympathy with their aspirations for independence, and to enlist the co-operation of the peoples of the Philippines in the methods of peaceful understanding and teamwork to which the Fellowship is committed.

Rev. Clarence Neff is well fitted to carry on this delicate mission. A native of Ohio, he graduated at the Union Theological Seminary in New York, spent some years as a teacher in the Fukion Christian University, Foochow, China, taught for two years in the Forest School of the University of the Philippine Islands at Los Banos and is now in charge of a boys' school near Foochow. Last year he visited over the Islands in company with a number of the Filipino governors.

The American group of the Fellowship of Reconciliation sees in the continued holding of the Philippine Islands by the United States a situation which will increasingly foster suspicion and hostility on the part of the Filipinos and repressive methods on our own part, both leading to possible ultimate conflict. Instead of waiting until that stage is reached and then protesting against war at a time when the forces of understanding and good will have been relegated to the background, the Fellowship desires now to unite the latent good will of Americans for the creation of a public opinion which will redeem the assurances of independence we have given to the Filipinos and

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It is acknowledged by the present Soviet Embassy, as well as by all those who are in any way connected with the embassy, that there is rejection of all forms of religious belief. Under the constitution of the Soviet Government, there is granted full liberty and toleration of all forms of religion. If anything, those who are connected with the embassy in Peking, show more sympathy toward the Moslem or Buddhist forms of religion than they do to the Christian forms. As a whole, they disbelieve in religion and are hostile to the forms of worship as they have existed in the old Russian church.

A large part of the opposition to the Russian Church, and to religion in general, is due to the fact that the Church was a part of the Russian State, and the Russian ecclesiastics were the main supporters of the old Czarist Government. The Soviets in their revolution for the overthrow of the Czarist Government have also been keen in bringing about the overthrow of the Russian Church. No doubt there is more opposition to this old form of ecclesiastical organization than to the essence of Christianity or to the underlying principles of religion. At least this much can be said, that those who are connected with the Soviet Embassy in Peking, are more ready to be classed as irreligious rather than as adherents of any form of Christianity.

International Institute, Peking, China GILBERT REID.

A VISIT TO GANDHI

Dear Mr. Holmes:

Within one week after landing in Bombay, I was able, through the kind help of Mr. C. F. Andrews, to go to Gandhi's Asham, and spend a whole month there. Mahatmaji himself was there but very few days of that time, but he was exceedingly kind and friendly, and found time one afternoon to take me off for a walk and talk.

My impression of him quite fulfilled my expectations. He is a very wonderful man, and you know it immediately in his presence. His love fills the place. It is charming to see him with the children. Just before evening prayers the little ones gather around him and play peek-a-boo, and he responds without the slightest loss of dignity and yet full of fun. He has a very keen sense of humor. Since his fast last autumn he has been very much stronger physically, so he didn't give me any impression of frailty whatsoever—rather one of overflowing vitality. He keeps three secretaries, all able fellows, going 16 to 18 hours a day steadily. . . .

I have had some delightful experiences in the villages, where I saw some of Gandhi's organized spinning and weaving work. Incidentally I have learned to spin cotton, and I work at it half an hour per day. It is difficult from America to realize the wonderful implications and great importance of Gandhi's program.

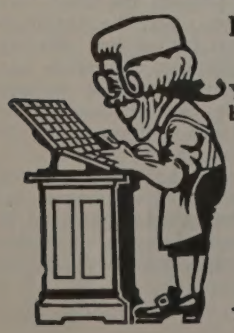
Bombay, India. R. B. G.

to encourage the latter to seek not only political freedom but that larger freedom which comes from a liberated life. The members of the Fellowship believe that if independence can be granted soon in a friendly spirit it will be of more value to the Islands than if granted in exasperation at a time when bitterness has come to dominate the situation. The Fellowship has about 4000 members in this country and a small group in the Philippine Islands. Similar groups are organized in eighteen different countries including Japan and China.

Mr. Neff will spend a month in the Islands, speaking before various organizations and holding meetings in different towns and cities. The arrangements for his visit have been perfected by Dr. Frank C. Laubach, Dean of the Union Theological Seminary of Manila and author of "The People of the Philippine Islands," published this spring. Other representatives of the Fellowship will visit the Islands later in order to strengthen the bond which is now being created.

The reason for the undertaking grows out of the nature of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. This group is made up of people of many races, nations and classes who recognize the oneness of the human family. They believe that the spirit of love seen in Jesus of Nazareth can work through and change all social relations, industry, politics and international life. To them love is not only the basis of a true human society but the only power which can overcome evil and call forth the undiscovered good in men. To belong to the Fellowship means to be a part of an international brotherhood within which there can be no more war. In applying the principles the members not only feel that they can take no part in war, but they question many of the motives and methods characteristic of our industrial order and also our current racial discriminations. The Fellowship has existed in this country since 1915.

"Peace or War in the Pacific?" is the subject of the annual Conference of the Fellowship which will be held September 10th to 13th, 1925, at Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. The elements of danger and of hope in the general situation will be discussed.



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